

# VU Research Portal

## Inclusiveness of identification among farmers in The Netherlands and Galicia (Spain)

Klandermans, P.G.; Sabucedo, J.M.; Rodriguez, M.

### **published in**

European Journal of Social Psychology  
2004

### **DOI (link to publisher)**

[10.1002/ejsp.197](https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.197)

### **document version**

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in VU Research Portal](#)

### **citation for published version (APA)**

Klandermans, P. G., Sabucedo, J. M., & Rodriguez, M. (2004). Inclusiveness of identification among farmers in The Netherlands and Galicia (Spain). *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 34, 279-295.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.197>

### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

### **E-mail address:**

[vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl](mailto:vuresearchportal.ub@vu.nl)

## **Inclusiveness of identification among farmers in The Netherlands and Galicia (Spain)**

BERT KLANDERMANS<sup>1\*</sup>, JOSE MANUEL  
SABUCEDO<sup>2</sup> AND MAURO RODRIGUEZ<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Free University, Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

<sup>2</sup>*University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain*

### *Abstract*

*In this paper we discuss inclusiveness of identification among farmers in Galicia (Spain) and The Netherlands. Identification with three nested categories—farmers in the local community, farmers in the country, and farmers in Europe was assessed among 167 Dutch and 248 Galician farmers at three points in time: winter of 1993/94, winter 1995 and fall 1995. Our findings suggest that inclusiveness reduces the level of identification. However, the observed patterns of identification were more complex than inclusiveness per se can account for. Borrowing from the common ingroup-identity model, functional and socialization models of identity formation, and a model of politicized collective identity we formulated hypotheses about patterns of identification that were to be expected. On the whole our findings supported our theoretical reasoning. Galician farmers appear to identify much less with farmers in their country and Europe than Dutch farmers do. Inclusiveness of identification appears to be linked to experience with national and supranational political institutions. More political knowledge and involvement appear to generate more inclusive patterns of identification. Among Galician farmers evaluation of the agricultural policy of the European Union is negatively related to identification with farmers in Europe, among Dutch farmers the two are positively related. Finally, more inclusive identities seem to be more politicized. Copyright © 2004 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.*

Whether they like it or not, farmers in The Netherlands and Spain are part of the same supranational political structure—the European Union (EU). Yet, although this polity defines their existence to a large extent, we witness relatively little collective political activity by farmers at the European level (Imig & Tarrow, 2001). Not because farmers in Europe do not share any interests; shared interests abound, but—we propose—because they lack the collective identity needed for such activity. Indeed, farmers within the EU act more often to protect national or regional interests against those of farmers from other European countries than to defend common interest at the European level (Bush & Simi, 2001).

Dynamics of social identification can possibly account for the situation. A farmer in Europe may identify with the farmers in his community; alternatively he may identify with the farmers in his country, and he may also identify with the farmers in the EU. Indeed, farmers in the EU live in a

\*Correspondence to: Dr B. Klandermans, Faculty of Social Sciences, Free University, De Boelelaan 1081, NL-1081, HV Amsterdam, The Netherlands. E-mail: pg.klandermans@fsw.vu.nl

multi-layered polity where agricultural policy may make any of those collective identities salient at some point in time. If the national government imposes nationwide some regulation on farmers, the farmers in the country become the salient category. If on the other hand, the community requires that the local farmers apply some environmental measures the farmers in the community become the salient category. If, finally, the EU imposes some ruling on the agricultural sector in Europe, farmers in Europe become the salient category. If, on the other hand, some policy endangers the local community as a whole being a farmer may lose its salience for some longer or shorter period.

In this study we explore to what extent farmers in The Netherlands and Galicia (the most northern province of Spain) identify with farmers in their community, their country, and Europe. We will try to understand the antecedents of such differences in inclusiveness of identification.

### NESTED IDENTITIES AND IDENTITY POLITICS

Simon (1999) characterizes identities as places in society. Some of those places we share with relatively few people, like members of our family; others are far more inclusive, like citizens of our country. Many places overlap, such as students at Free University Amsterdam and citizens of Amsterdam. Others are mutually exclusive such as male and female. Again other places are nested, such as inhabitants of Amsterdam and inhabitants of The Netherlands. In this paper we are interested in the latter—nested categories. The question that occupies us here is, why do some people identify with the more inclusive levels of a set of nested categories while others do not? The answer to this question is not only interesting for scientific reasons, but may have important social and political implications. We began our paper pointing to the scarcity of collective political activity aimed at the EU by European farmers and suggested that lack of identification with farmers in Europe is among the reasons why such political activity is rare. Identification with the more inclusive category of European farmers, we suggested, is needed to engage in collective action at the corresponding level. Indeed, the senior author has argued elsewhere (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) that in the process of politicization collective identity tends to become more inclusive, because people try to mobilize support from third parties, a larger community, or the general public. On the other hand, political common sense makes authorities believe that regional or ethnic identity (or more generally subgroup identities) and national identity are mutually exclusive (M. B. Brewer & R. Herrmann, paper presented at the European Science Foundation Workshop, Menaggio, Italy, 2002). Throughout history governments in fear of intergroup hostility and engaged in nation building have tried to foster national identity and to suppress any expression of subgroup identities. For instance, in Franco's Spain every sign of regional identification was severely suppressed (Johnston, 1991). In a similar vein, protest groups are easily blamed for being disloyal, unpatriotic and forsaking the national identity, as the fate of many protest movements on the African continent and the peace movements in the United States and Europe during the Cold War showed. Ironically, such suppression tends to reinforce the very identity it attempts to suppress.

Finally, social psychological literature suggests that identification with a more inclusive category prevents the occurrence of intergroup conflict (see Brown, 2000; Gaertner et al., 2000; Huo, Smith, Tyler, & Lind, 1996 for overviews). Gaertner et al.'s review of the extensive work on the common ingroup identity model evidences that intergroup bias and conflict can be reduced by factors that transform participants' representation of memberships from two to one more inclusive group. The work on dual identity that Brown and Huo et al. review distinguishes nested identities into subordinated and superordinated identities and shows that the two are far from mutually exclusive. Dual identity (that is a combination of a sub- and superordinate identity) contributes to the stability of an organization or a political system, these authors conclude. Indeed, intergroup hostility seems to

decline if people are allowed to nourish both sub- and superordinate identities. Moreover, a sufficiently high level of superordinate identification makes it possible for authorities to maintain cohesion within an ethnically diverse community. But superordinate identity seems to have this effect only if people can maintain their subgroup identity as well.

All this suggests that inclusiveness of identification makes a real difference, be it in terms of intergroup conflict, processes of nation building, collective political action, political stability, or otherwise. Hence, the question of what makes people identify at a more or less inclusive level has a significant bearing.

## INCLUSIVENESS OF IDENTIFICATION

Inclusiveness per se has been proposed as a factor influencing the dynamics of identification: Identification will be stronger in more inclusive groups (Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992). Translated to our setting this would mean that we were to find the highest levels of identification at the community level, intermediate identification at the national level, and the weakest identification at the European level. However, according to social categorization theory (Turner, 1999) a stable linear relationship between inclusiveness and identification is not very likely, as the theory holds that the relevance of a certain category depends on the social context. Similarly, Brewer and Silver (2000) suggest that size is not the only factor that influences identification. Inclusive categories, these authors hold satisfy the need for inclusion, but activate the need for differentiation. Shared distinctiveness, they argue, defines the optimum and is the group property that generates high levels of identification. 'Social identification will be highest for those groups that make members feel they are valued and representative members of an exclusive group.' (2000, p. 156). To illustrate the point, they present results from a study among students of Ohio State University (OSU) on the strength of identification with Americans, students from OSU and members of a subgroup that a student had personally identified (Brewer & Silver, 2000). Identification appears to be strongest with the most inclusive group namely the subgroup. However, second were not OSU students the next in terms of inclusiveness, but the more inclusive but more meaningful category of Americans. Thus not only size, but also type of group determines strength of identification.

But there is more. M. B. Brewer and R. Herrmann (paper presented at the European Science Foundation Workshop, Menaggio, Italy, 2002) distinguish functional, socialization and persuasion models of identity formation and change as they conceptualize identity formation and change in relationship to national and supranational institutional structures. Functional models refer to differences (changes) in the political environment. Identities form and change depending on the structural relations between regional and national politics and between national and supranational politics (see also Huici et al., 1997). The socialization models concern differences (changes) in personal experiences. Socialization models allow for the impact of different experiences both quantitatively—how much experience—and qualitatively—what kind of experiences. Factors such as education, knowledge of the institutions, and the salience of the institutions in someone's personal life influence the formation of identity. The persuasion models refer to differences (changes) in social communication as a mechanism of identity formation and change. These models take into account the direct role that institutions play in creating identities. The authors suggest that the three models all contribute to the explanation of identity formation and change.

Finally, Simon and Klandermans (2001) hypothesize a link between inclusiveness of identification and the politicization of collective identity. If collective identity politicizes, these authors reason, people come to define identity at a higher level of inclusiveness. Politicization of collective identity

unfolds as a sequence of politicizing events which gradually transform the group's relationship to its social environment. In the course of the process of politicization the group seeks to win the support of third parties or the general public. As a consequence, group members begin to stress their identity as a member of society at large. It is by virtue of their membership in this more inclusive community that they are entitled to societal support for their claims.

### INCLUSIVENESS OF IDENTIFICATION AMONG FARMERS IN GALICIA AND THE NETHERLANDS

In this paper we are interested in differences in identification among farmers in The Netherlands and Galicia. Both share an identity with farmers in Europe, farmers in their country, and farmers in their community. We hold that farmers need not identify with farmers at all three levels of inclusiveness, but that they may. Thus, our first research question concerns the actual occurrence of identification at these three levels of inclusiveness. If level of inclusiveness were the only factor in play one would predict a simple linear relationship between identity strength and level of inclusiveness—strongest identification with farmers in one's community and weakest with farmers in Europe. There are, however, as discussed in the previous section, other factors than inclusiveness that supposedly produce more complicated patterns of identification.

If—following M. B. Brewer and R. Herrmann (paper presented at the European Science Foundation Workshop, Menaggio, Italy, 2002)—we look at the *functional* relationships between regional, national and European institutions we observe significant differences between the two countries. As for region and nation, Galicia is one of the autonomous provinces in Spain and there has always been tension between the province and the nation state. *Vis á vis* the state provinces in Spain are each others competitors rather than companions. Nothing similar exists in The Netherlands—no autonomous provinces, no tension between provinces and the state, and no competition between provinces. At the level of the EU, farmers in different countries of the Union tend to see each other as competitors rather than companions (Bush & Simi, 2001). On these grounds and following Brewer and Herrmann one would expect national identification in Galicia to be lower than in The Netherlands and European identification to be lower than national identification in both countries.

*Socialization* models presume different experiences with the EU among our respondents and sure enough the experiences of farmers in the two parts of Europe have been very different during the past decades. Spain entered the Union decades later than The Netherlands and therefore, simply in terms of duration the experience of the two groups of farmers with the EU differed. But qualitatively the experiences during the last two decades in the two regions have been very different as well. Whereas two decades ago Dutch agriculture had already gone through most of the process of modernization encouraged by the EU, agriculture in Galicia still stood at the beginning of that process. At the time of our fieldwork farming in Galicia was facing a process of rationalization that Dutch farming had already left behind. Thus, agriculture in Galicia lacked most of the professionalization that characterized farming in The Netherlands. As professionalization was accompanied by the strengthening of farmers organizations, a significant difference between the two countries could be observed—few farmers in Galicia were member of farmers organizations versus almost every farmer in The Netherlands. Moreover, the EU was evaluated much more positive in The Netherlands than in Spain, also among our respondents as we will see. On the whole Dutch farmers have benefited from the EU more than their Spanish colleagues and certainly their Galician colleagues. In sum, Dutch farmers are socialized more into the EU than their Galician counterparts and in a more positive way. As a consequence, we expect to find in The Netherlands a stronger identification with European farmers

than in Galicia. At the same time, because farming in Galicia is less organized as a profession we expect less group identification in Galicia altogether as professional organizations contribute to the identity of a group.

Thus far, we have discussed inclusiveness of identification in terms of a single identity, but we are also interested in the occurrence of dual identity (Gonzalez & Brown, 2003). In fact, we prefer to use the concept of multiple identity, because we are not only interested in the combination of sub- and superordinated identity, but in the combination of the three levels included in our research. To what extent do multiple identities exist in the two countries and which factors make their occurrence more likely? In the introduction we discussed that political common sense tends to hold that nested identities are mutual exclusive, but that social psychological literature suggests the contrary. Indeed, M. B. Brewer and R. Herrmann (paper presented at the European Science Foundation Workshop, Menaggio, Italy, 2002) refer to research that has shown that people who identify strongly with local communities also identify strongly with nations and with Europe. In our own research in South Africa we found the same with regard to various forms of subgroup identity and national identity and concluded that indeed, a strong national identity seemed to presuppose a strong subgroup identity (Klandermans, Roefs, & Olivier, 2001). All this suggests that superordinate identification presupposes subordinate identification. Accordingly, we hypothesize that we will find a strong identification with farmers in the community among farmers who display a strong identification with farmers in the country and a strong identification at both the community and national level among farmers who display a strong identification with farmers in Europe. Finally, we want to test Simon and Klandermans' (2001) hypothesis that identification with a more inclusive social entity reflects politicization of collective identity.

The reasoning we developed in the previous sections can be summarized in the following hypotheses:

1. We expect the following differences in identification patterns between the two regions: more farmers who display lack of identification with other farmers in Galicia than in The Netherlands; relatively strong identification with farmers in the community in both regions; stronger identification with farmers in the country in The Netherlands than in Galicia; relatively weak identification with farmers in Europe in both regions; weaker identification with farmers in Europe in Galicia than in The Netherlands.
2. We expect to find a cumulative pattern of identification: farmers who identify at the European level, identify also at the national level, and farmers who identify at the national level identify also at the local level.
3. Farmers who have more experience and more positive experience with national or supranational political institutions have higher levels of identification at the corresponding level of inclusiveness.
4. Farmers with a more inclusive pattern of identification display more signs of politicization.

## METHODS

### Design

The research reported here is part of a study on farmers' protest. We interviewed a sample of 167 Dutch farmers and 248 Galician farmers three times, namely in the winter of 1993/94, winter 1995 (1995/1) and fall 1995 (1995/2). During those two years several agricultural measures to be taken by the government or the EU were imminent, varying in impact on the agricultural sector. The study was designed to investigate farmers' responses to these measures. We have chosen The Netherlands and

Galicia because they are similar as far as agricultural products are concerned but opposites as far as agricultural development is concerned. In both countries the same kind of farmers were involved, mainly from dairy, arable and mixed farms, but on modern and large scale enterprises in The Netherlands and old-fashioned and small scale farms in Galicia. Trained interviewers at the respondents' homes conducted face-to-face, computer-assisted interviews. The interviews lasted on average three quarters of an hour.

## Subjects

The subjects interviewed resulted from samples drawn from selected farming communities. The criteria used to select communities were: (1) a large enough population of farmers, and (2) an average size of farms in the community similar to the national average (The Netherlands) or the provincial average (Galicia). Farmers from the selected communities were asked for their cooperation. This paper is based on those farmers in the two countries for whom we had complete information.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the samples were not random samples of the farmers in Galicia or The Netherlands nor are they necessarily statistically representative. Yet, the sample characteristics reflect the documented differences between the two populations: farmers in The Netherlands were on average younger (46) than farmers in Galicia (49); level of education in The Netherlands was far higher than in Galicia (70% in The Netherlands completed secondary or higher agricultural education, whereas 90% of the farmers in Galicia had only primary education); farms in The Netherlands were much larger than those in Galicia (average to large size farms for 70.7% of the Dutch respondents, against small farms for 77% of the Galician respondents). Finally, randomness and representativeness are less important for our argument, as we are interested in theoretical derived relations between variables. Moreover, in our panel design the groups provide their own standard to assess changes over time.

## Measures

The key variables to be measured were identification, experience with national and supranational political institutions, and indicators of politicization.

*Identification* with farmers was assessed by asking farmers whether they identified with other farmers in their region, their country, or Europe to be answered on a 4-point scale from 'do not identify at all,' 'do not identify,' 'do identify' to 'identify very much.' As we were interested in the strength of identification, we collapsed the negative scale points to create a 3-point scale indicating 'no identification' (0), 'modest identification' (1) and 'strong identification' (2).<sup>2</sup>

*Experience with national political institutions* was tapped regarding politics in general and regarding agricultural politics. Four indicators at a *general* level were assessed, namely, knowledge of politics, interest in politics, powerlessness, and trust in government. We assumed that factors such as political knowledge, interest in politics, powerlessness and trust in government indicate how much

<sup>1</sup>Response rates are not very informative in this context. First of all, different procedures to draw and approach samples were used in the two countries. In Spain interviewers were instructed to conduct a fixed number of interviews in a community. They stopped once that number was reached. No record was kept of refusal or absences. In The Netherlands all the farmers in a community were approached. On average 38% of the farmers agreed to participate. In both countries this resulted in the agreed upon sample of 360 in the first wave. Secondly, we only used those interviews for the panel design where the same person was interviewed all the time. Third, in The Netherlands some 30 identification numbers got lost, so that we were not able to connect the three interviews.

<sup>2</sup>To make sure that results were not biased by the reduction from the 4- to the 3-point scale we did a number of our analyses with both the 3- and the 4-point scale as our dependent variable. The results were very similar.

and what kind of experience an individual has with national political institutions. Knowledge was assessed in each interview by a set of questions on some basic facts about national politics. Interest in politics was measured by asking people whether they were interested in and talked about politics in general. The answers to the two questions were highly correlated (0.74, 0.72 and 0.76 in the three interviews) and were combined into a single measure ranging from 1 'no interest' to 4 'a lot of interest.' Trust in government we measured from the second interview onwards with a set of questions. Factor analyses and scale analyses produced a single dimension (*Cronbach's alpha*: 0.69 and 0.73 in the second and third interview respectively). Powerlessness was measured with four questions taken from the powerlessness-scale developed by Neal and Groat (1974). Two examples are: 'People like me can change the world events if we make ourselves heard.' and 'It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society at large.' (*Cronbach's alpha*: 0.70, 0.64 and 0.72 for the three interviews respectively). At a more *specific* level, we assessed whether respondents talked about agricultural politics with members of their family, other farmers, or other people in general. The three answers were combined into scales ranging from 1 'do not talk at all' to 5 'talk a lot with a variety of people' (*Cronbach's alpha*: 0.85, 0.89 and 0.89 for the three interviews). Furthermore, we asked farmers about their participation in farmer's organizations. The answers to these questions were combined into a single measure of participation in farmers' organizations ranging from 0 (not a member), 1 (member) to 2 (active member).

*Experience with supranational institutions* was measured by a set of evaluative questions about the EU and the role of the national government in the Union that were included in the third interview. Based on factor analysis and scale analyses a scale named *Evaluation of the EU* (*Cronbach's alpha*: 0.71) was constructed.

*Politicization* we measured by means of two indicators of protest participation. We assessed the preparedness to take part in four forms of collective action which were part of the action repertoire of farmers in those days—demonstrations, blockades, symbolic actions (such as dumping dung on the doorsteps of the ministry of agriculture), refusal to pay taxes. We asked for each of these action forms whether respondents would participate if they were to disagree completely with an agricultural measure or with agricultural policy in general. For each action form respondents could indicate on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all prepared) to 5 (very much prepared) to what extent they were prepared to participate. The answers to these questions were taken together into a scale of action preparedness ranging from 1 (not at all prepared to take part in any form of collective action) to 5 (very much prepared to take part in all forms selected). *Cronbach's alpha* of the scale at the three points in time was satisfactory: 0.75, 0.74 and 0.75. In addition, we asked in the first interview whether respondents took part in any collective action directed at agricultural measures or policy in the past. In the second and third interview we asked them whether they had taken part in any collective action since the previous interview. The answers to these questions were used as a measure of action participation.

## RESULTS

Our discussion of the results will be organized around the four hypotheses that were formulated. We will start with a test of our first hypothesis by a presentation of the observed identification patterns in the two regions. Next, in the section on multiple identities we move on to patterns of identification at the individual level and test our second hypothesis. Subsequently, in an attempt to test our third hypothesis we will analyse the role of experience with political institutions in identity formation. Finally, our last hypothesis about the relationship between inclusiveness of identification and politicization will be tested.



Table 1. Identification at levels of inclusiveness: Means

	Galicia			The Netherlands		
	1993/94	1995/1	1995/2	1993/94	1995/1	1995/2
Local	1.21	0.79	1.15	1.27	1.31	1.29
National	0.56	0.41	0.40	1.00	1.01	0.97
European	0.29	0.17	0.25	0.49	0.59	0.60

Note: On a scale from 0 'no identification' to 2 'strong identification.'

Table 1 reports the mean strength of identification at the different levels of identification for the two regions at the three points in time. A three-way (country  $\times$  time  $\times$  inclusiveness of identification) Anova for repeated measurement was conducted to test the differences. The figures in Table 1 confirm our first hypothesis: Identification with farmers in the community is relatively strong in both regions. Second, we observed in The Netherlands a stronger identification with farmers in the country than in Galicia. Third, identification with farmers in Europe is relatively weak in both regions, and finally, identification with farmers in Europe is weaker in Galicia than in The Netherlands.

Obviously, in both countries strength of identification is related to level of inclusiveness: identification decreases as the level of inclusiveness increases. This is very clear in Galicia: with each step towards a higher level of inclusion the identification with other farmers in that category reduces dramatically. Less dramatic declines are observed among the Dutch farmers, but considerable drops in identification across levels of inclusiveness are found there as well. All the differences between levels of identification at a point in time are highly significant in both countries (all  $F$ s significant at  $p < 0.001$ ).

Also as expected, the patterns of identification are more complex than can be accounted for by inclusiveness alone. In the first place, the pattern of decline in relation to inclusiveness is different in the two countries as evidenced by a significant country  $\times$  level of identification interaction ( $F = 41.31$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). In Galicia the step from the regional to the national level is much larger than the step from the national to the European level, whereas in The Netherlands the step from the regional to the national level is the smallest and that from the national to the European the largest. The observed patterns of decline are what we expected.

Secondly, as expected identification with farmers in the region was very much alike in the two countries, whereas identification at the national and European level appeared to be significantly higher in The Netherlands. Indeed, in 1993/94 the levels of regional identification did not differ significantly between the two countries, whereas the difference in 1995/2 barely reached significance ( $F = 4.48$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = 0.04$ ). However, in 1995/1 the difference between the two countries is highly significant ( $F = 120.45$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). At that point in time, identification with farmers in the community dropped significantly in Galicia but recovered almost to its original level in the subsequent interview ( $F_{\text{quadratic}} = 108.20$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). We return to this finding in our next paragraph on changes over time. Identification with farmers in the country was much lower in Galicia than in The Netherlands as indicated by  $F$ s that were all significant at  $p < 0.001$ . This is what we expected in view of the different relationship between region and nation in Galicia compared to The Netherlands. Finally, identification with farmers in Europe was much lower in Galicia than in The Netherlands (all  $F$ s  $p < 0.001$ ). This is in line with our expectations as well.

Third, the patterns of identification changed over time ( $F_{\text{time} \times \text{identification}} = 8.66$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), but in a different way in the two countries ( $F_{\text{time} \times \text{identification} \times \text{country}} = 5.67$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). In The Netherlands both identification at the local level and identification at the national level remained stable, but identification at the European levels increased over time ( $F_{\text{linear}} = 4.47$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). In

Galicia, however, identification with farmers dropped significantly at all levels in the second interview ( $F = 105.21$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ;  $F = 9.58$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ;  $F = 7.50$ ,  $p < 0.01$  for the local, national and European level respectively). In the case of local and European identification it resumed the level of the first interview ( $F_{\text{quadratic}} = 108.20$ ,  $p < 0.001$  and  $F_{\text{quadratic}} = 6.71$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) but not in the case of national identification. The declining identification with other farmers in the second interview is possibly due to the circumstance that during the second interview campaigns for local elections took place in Galicia. Presumably, this made political cleavages more salient than occupational differentiation. We will return to this issue in our discussion.

## Multiple Identities

According to our second hypothesis we expected to find a cumulative pattern of identification at the individual level. That is to say, farmers who identify at the European level, identify also at the national level, and farmers who identify at the national level identify also at the local level. As it turns out the responses to the three questions form a near to perfect Guttman scale. Higher levels of inclusiveness encompass all lower levels of inclusiveness and someone who does not display any local identification, will not display any of the others either, or someone who displays no national identity will not display a European identity. Only 1.2% of the Galician sample and 3% of the Dutch sample do not fit this pattern. Obviously, the results confirm our expectation that the three levels of inclusiveness are cumulative, and thus not mutually exclusive or varying independently. We must, however, make one important qualification, which renders unequivocal conclusions impossible. As the identification questions were asked in a fixed order (local, national, European) the cumulative pattern could be an artifact. With the current data it is impossible to rule this alternative explanation out.

Table 2 provides the frequencies for the four combinations that fit into the cumulative pattern. The frequency with which the four patterns of identification were found differed considerably for the two countries (*chi-squares* 43.94, 119.72, 136.57 respectively for the three points in time, each significant at  $p < 0.001$ ). In The Netherlands there hardly seems to be any farmer who does not identify at all with other farmers. What is more, the vast majority of Dutch farmers displays a multiple identity, be it a combination of local *and* national or a combination of local, national, *and* supranational identity. Indeed, in The Netherlands the largest group identifies with farmers at all three levels. A completely different pattern was found among the farmers of Galicia. Here the largest group consists of farmers who identify *only* with farmers at the local level. In the final interview only one third displayed some kind of multiple identity. Moreover, in the second and third interview no less than one fifth of the Galician farmers did not identify with others farmers at all.

The figures in Table 2 provide also some more insight in the changes in identification patterns over time. The strong increase in Galicia in the number of farmers who do not identify with farmers at all lends support to our interpretation that it was the election campaign that made their farmer's identity

Table 2. Patterns of identification: Percentages

	Galicia			The Netherlands		
	1993/94	1995/1	1995/2	1993/94	1995/1	1995/2
No identification	5.7	21.2	19.7	3.7	1.8	1.9
Only local identification	41.5	41.6	46.7	12.4	8.6	6.2
Local <i>and</i> national identification	28.5	22.0	14.8	39.1	35.6	33.3
Local, national <i>and</i> European identification	24.4	15.1	18.9	44.7	54.0	58.6

less salient. Cross tabulation tells us that close to one fifth of the Galician farmers who identified with other farmers at some level of inclusiveness, did not identify with farmers any longer in the second or third interview. We found very few of those in The Netherlands. A large proportion of the Dutch farmers never changed their mind and continued to identify with other farmers and those who changed increasingly identified with farmers in Europe. Among the Galician farmers we witnessed the reverse, increasing numbers who did no longer identify with farmers at all or only with farmers at the local level. In other words, Dutch farmers increasingly displayed multiple identities, whereas among Galician farmers the proportion displaying multiple identities declined.

### The Role of Experience

On the whole we observed differences between the two countries which are in line with our expectations on the basis of the diverging functional relations between region, nation and Europe in The Netherlands and Spain. Our third hypothesis tries to explain the observed differences between countries from the experience farmers have had with national and European political institutions. Based on a socialization model, it was argued that farmers who have more experience and more positive experience with national or European political institutions have higher levels of identification at the corresponding level of inclusiveness.

Indicators of quantitative and qualitative differences in experience with national politics were entered as the independent variables in multinomial regression analyses<sup>3</sup> with the distribution of the four patterns of identification (no-identification, identification with local farmers, identification with national farmers, and supranational identification) as the dependent variable. In a subsequent analysis, we will link identification with farmers in Europe to the evaluation of the EU.

We have tried to assess differences in experience with national politics in general and for national agricultural politics specifically. As for the first, we measured knowledge of national (agricultural) politics, interest in national politics, trust in government, and feelings of powerlessness. As for the second, we measured talking with others about agricultural policy and involvement in farmers organizations. In the following paragraphs we report analyses that investigated to what extent these factors influenced patterns of identification. In the first two steps we assessed the influence of experience with national politics. The influence of experience with national politics was tested by way of multinomial logistic regression analyses with patterns of identification as the dependent variable. The independent variables were dichotomized employing median splits.

Table 3 presents results of the analyses that included experience with politics in general. In these analyses we have exploited the fact that we have conducted a longitudinal study and assessed the extent to which such experience could predict patterns of identification in the future (from wave 1 to wave 2 and 3, and from wave 2 to wave 3).

Feelings of powerlessness and trust in government appear to be of no influence. However, knowledge of politics and interest in politics do influence patterns of identification significantly. Together these variables account for a fair proportion of the measured variance in identity (*Nagelkerke's pseudo R-square* between 0.26 and 0.28). Inspection of the means for the separate groups revealed a straightforward picture. The more farmers know about politics and the more they are interested in politics, the more inclusive their pattern of identification.

<sup>3</sup>Multinomial logistic regression is similar to logistic regression in that it works with categorical dependent variables, but it is more general because the dependent variable is not restricted to two categories. Independent variables can be factors or covariates. In general, factors should be categorical variables and covariates should be continuous variables. Of the several statistics, SPSS computes the main effects, chi-square goodness of fit test, and Nagelkerke's summary statistic are reported.

Table 3. Political cognition as antecedent of identity patterns: Multinomial logistic regression-chi-squares

	Wave 1 to wave 2	Wave 1 to wave 3	Wave 2 to wave 3
Knowledge of politics	19.68**	4.58	7.68*
Interest in politics	66.62**	84.41**	40.89**
Feeling of powerlessness	1.24	2.99	1.94
Trust in national government	—	—	3.50
Model chi-square	121.93**	110.63**	114.54**
<i>Df</i>	9	9	12
Nagelkerke's pseudo <i>R</i> -square	0.28	0.26	0.27

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.001$ .

Subsequently, we looked into the influence of experience with agricultural politics. We explored whether each of the two indicators influenced patterns of identification. Again we conducted multinomial logistic regression analyses with dichotomized variables as factors (Table 4).

The picture is very consistent. Both talking about politics and involvement in farmers' organizations were of significant influence. Together these two variables account for a proportion of explained variance comparable to those in the previous analysis (*Nagelkerke's Pseudo R-square* between 0.22 and 0.31). Once again inspection of the means shows straightforward results: farmers who talk with others about agricultural politics and/or are involved in farmers' organizations, display more inclusive patterns of identification.

In a final step we combined the two variables that appeared to be of significance in the first step and the two from the second step into a single analysis (Model 1 in Table 5). In this analysis we did also

Table 4. Political behaviour as antecedent of identity patterns: Multinomial logistic regression-chi-squares

	Wave 1 to wave 2	Wave 1 to wave 3	Wave 2 to wave 3
Talking about agricultural politics	40.19	22.13	31.77
Involvement in farmers' organizations	28.04	26.40	44.47
Chi-square	138.08	92.46	114.76
<i>Df</i>	6	6	6
Nagelkerke's pseudo <i>R</i> -square	0.31	0.22	0.27

Note: All chi-squares  $p < 0.001$ .

Table 5. Political cognition and behaviour as antecedent of identity patterns: Multinomial logistic regression-chi-squares

	Wave 1 to wave 2		Wave 1 to wave 3	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Knowledge of politics	6.12	6.24	6.75	5.84
Interest in politics	10.70*	1.64	31.37**	5.15
Talking about agricultural politics	18.33**	10.57*	9.46*	8.94*
Involvement in farmers' organizations	8.37*	2.26	11.09	1.54
Country	—	13.86	—	43.41**
Chi-square	154.81**	168.67**	130.39**	173.80**
<i>Df</i>	12	15	12	15
Nagelkerke's pseudo <i>R</i> -square	0.34	0.36	0.30	0.38

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.001$ .

control for country (Model 2). We concentrated on the independent variables as they were measured during the first wave. The figures in Table 5 allow for some interesting observations. *First*, the *chi-squares* and *pseudo R-squares* of Models 1 are considerably higher than those reported in Tables 3 and 4. Obviously, in combination the variables explain significantly more variance in identity patterns than the two types could explain separately. Nevertheless, knowledge is no longer of significant influence. Patterns of identification are a matter of political interest, talking about agricultural politics, and involvement in farmers' organizations. Together these variables account for approximately one third of the variance in identification patterns. *Second*, controlling for country takes interest in politics and involvement in farmers' organizations out, but not talking with others about agricultural politics. Apparently, the former two are predominantly factors between countries, while the latter is also a factor within countries. *Third*, controlled for country the equations remained more or less the same across the two waves, *however*, the proportions of variance explained by country increased substantially. Comparison of Models 1 in Table 5 shows that both the link between interest in politics and identity and that between involvement in farmers' organizations and identity became stronger over time. As a consequence, because the two countries differ so much on these two variables, identity patterns came increasingly to diverge. *Fourth*, the main effects of each of the variables is lower than those reported in Tables 3 and 4. This indicates that the two general and the two specific variables overlap. Farmers who are interested in politics and know the politics better, do also talk more about agricultural politics, and are more involved in farmers' organizations as well.

Separate multinomial regression analyses for the two countries revealed that in Galicia over the years the variance in identity patterns explained by the four factors decreased consistently (*chi-squares*: 50.02, 24.12 and 13.07 for the three waves respectively). In the first wave knowledge of politics, talking with others and involvement in farmers' organizations still contribute significantly, but these effects disappear in the later waves. During that same period in The Netherlands the *chi-squares* and also the equations remained fairly stable (*chi-squares*: 25.13, 25.58 and 23.44). These differences between the two regions underscore our speculation that due to the election campaign other factors than occupation came to define collective identity in Galicia. This is further evidenced by the following observation. As mentioned, in Galicia over the years a growing proportion of our respondents said they did not identify with other farmers altogether. A closer look at the data shows that this trend began among those farmers who were not involved in farmers' organizations and who did not talk with others about agricultural politics but later also spread to farmers who were involved in farmers organizations and who did talk with others. Apparently, those who exhibit less experience with agricultural politics are the first to reduce identification.

### Causality

In the previous analyses we have tested the hypothesis derived from Brewer and Herrmann's socialization model that experience with political institutions influence patterns of identification. But, what about causality? Is inclusiveness of identity influenced by experience with politics or is experience with politics influenced by inclusiveness of identity? As our study has a panel design we are able to test causal reasoning. For this test we made use of the fact that the patterns of identification formed an almost perfect Guttman scale and conducted a cross-lagged correlational analysis between the first and the third wave. The results are presented in Table 6.

On the diagonal in Table 6 the auto-correlations of the dependents and independents are presented, in the row and column the cross-lagged correlations (in the column the independents at Time 1 with the dependents at Time 3, in the row the independents at Time 3 with the dependents at Time 1). As we may expect on the basis of the changes in identification between the first and the third wave, we found

Table 6. Causal links between identity, cognition and behaviour: Cross-lagged correlations<sup>1</sup>

3rd wave	Inclusiveness of identity	Knowledge of politics	Interest in politics	Talking with others	Involvement in farmers' organizations
1st wave					
Inclusiveness of identity	0.27	0.26	0.30	0.27	0.16
Knowledge of politics	0.33	0.67			
Interest in politics	0.41		0.78		
Talking with others	0.30			0.51	
Involvement in farmers' organizations	0.39				0.71

<sup>1</sup>Pearson correlations.

a modest auto-correlation for identity. However, we did find strong auto-correlations for the four independent variables. Against that background the cross-lagged correlations are revealing. All four correlations in the column are higher than those in the row, although the differences are not always of equal size. Especially, interest in politics and involvement in farmers' organizations showed relatively large differences between correlations. These results suggest a recursive pattern but with an emphasis on the path from experience with national politics to identity rather than the other way around.

### *Evaluation of the EU*

Experience with the EU crystallizes into evaluative opinions. Such evaluations obviously influence the identification with farmers in Europe, but it is difficult to predict exactly how. Both negative and positive experiences could make the European identity more salient. In Galicia the agricultural policy of the EU was evaluated much less positive than in The Netherlands (2.5 versus 3.2;  $F = 153.74$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Hence, the relatively weak identification with farmers in Europe in Galicia seems to coincide with a negative evaluation of the agricultural policy of the EU. We conducted multivariate analysis of variance for repeated measures with country and three different evaluations (negative, neutral, positive) of the agricultural policy of the EU as factors and identification with farmers in Europe as the repeated measure at the three points in time. Indeed we found a significant interaction of country and evaluation ( $F = 3.62$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), in addition to the already observed highly significant main effect for country ( $F = 60.87$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). No main effect was found for evaluation. As we did not find any main effect of time, but significant effects of country, evaluation, and the interaction of country and evaluation, we collapsed the three points in time (Figure 1). The figure presents the strength of the identification with farmers in Europe in Galicia and The Netherlands for three different evaluations of the EU—negative, neutral and positive.

Clearly, as the evaluation of the agricultural policy of the EU becomes more positive the gap between the two countries widens (witnessed by the growing  $F$  values 5.36, 24.02 and 43.28). Identification with farmers in Europe among Galician farmers increased as the evaluation of the agricultural policy of the EU grew more *negative*. Among Dutch farmers, on the other hand, such identification rose as the evaluation of the agricultural policy of the EU grew more *positive*. We return to this finding in our discussion.

### **Inclusiveness and Politicization**

Our final hypothesis concerned the link between inclusiveness of identification and the politicization of collective identity. The hypothesized link implies higher levels of participation in farmers' protest at the more inclusive levels of identification. Table 7 presents the findings in this regard.

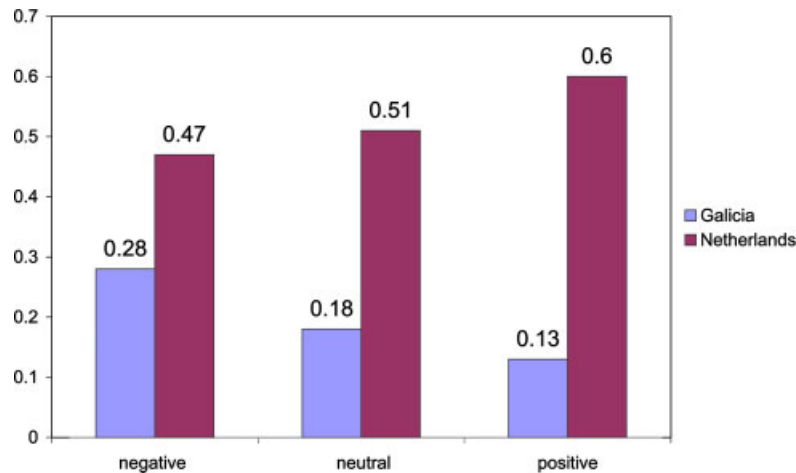


Figure 1. Identification with farmers in Europe by three types of evaluation of the agricultural policy of the EU

Table 7. Multiple identity and protest participation: Means

	1993/94			1995/1			1995/2		
	Intention to participate <sup>1</sup>	Participation <sup>2</sup>	n	Intention to participate <sup>1</sup>	Participation <sup>2</sup>	n	Intention to participate <sup>1</sup>	Participation <sup>2</sup>	n
No identification	2.58	1.50	20	2.04	1.04	55	2.48	1.00	51
Local identification	2.34	1.42	122	2.42	1.03	116	2.51	1.04	124
Local and national identification	3.00	1.72	133	2.76	1.06	112	2.77	1.16	90
Local, national and European identification	2.70	1.61	132	2.67	1.10	125	2.66	1.10	141

Note: Multivariate tests of the influence of multiple identity on intention and participation at each point in time  $p < 0.05$ .

<sup>1</sup>On a scale from 1 'not prepared' to 5 'fully prepared.' <sup>2</sup>On a scale from 1 'did not participate' to 2 'did participate.'

As we were interested in the question of whether more inclusive identification meant more signs of politicization we conducted MANOVAs of intended and actual protest participation with the four patterns of multiple identity at the same point in time as factor for each of the three interviews. The findings lend support to our argumentation, but the pattern is complex. First, no significant relationship was found between level of inclusiveness and actual participation in 1995/1 and intention to participate in 1995/2. The remaining multivariate tests revealed significant differences in protest participation. In 1993/94 for intended and actual participation ( $F = 8.75$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < 0.001$  and  $F = 8.06$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < 0.001$  respectively), in 1995/1 for intended participation only ( $F = 6.22$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and in 1995/2 for actual participation only ( $F = 4.89$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).

Secondly, there is obviously no simple linear relation between inclusiveness of identification and protest participation. In fact, there is a cleavage between no identification and local identification, on the one hand, and national and European identification, on the other. The 1995/1 survey is an exception as there are two gaps, one between no identification and any kind of identification and one between local identification and national or European identification. Follow-up tests (*Scheffe and Dunnett T3*)

confirm the statistical significance of these findings. Third, with the exception of 1995/1, we did not find any significant difference between 'no identification' and 'local identification', indeed, in 1993/94 local identification reveals even lower levels of protest participation than no identification. One would expect levels of protest participation to be lower among farmers who do not identify with other farmers than among farmers who display local identification, but apparently no identification and local identification are not different in that respect. The finding that local and no identification display comparably low levels of politicization could be seen as support of Simon and Klandermans' thesis that some superordinate identifications is needed for identity to politicize.

## DISCUSSION

In this paper we investigated inclusiveness of identification among Spanish and Dutch farmers. More specifically we were interested in nested identities—farmers in the local community, farmers in the country, and farmers in Europe. We were interested in the question of what levels of inclusiveness of identification farmers in the two regions display, whether different levels of inclusiveness exclude each other, what are the antecedents of inclusiveness of identification, and whether the politicization of collective identity implies higher levels of inclusiveness. Applying M. B. Brewer and R. Herrmann's (paper presented at the European Science Foundation Workshop, Menaggio, Italy, 2002) functional, socialization and persuasion models of identity formation and change, Brown (2000) and Huo et al.'s (1996) models of sub- and superordinated identities, and Simon and Klandermans (2001) theory of politicized collective identity we formulated hypotheses about identification patterns among farmers in The Netherlands and Galicia.

Differences in the functional relation between region and nation, and nation and Europe in the two countries were translated into the first hypothesis that specified differences in identification patterns between farmers in the two regions. The hypothesized differences in identification between the two regions were indeed observed, which suggests that the nature of the relationship between region and nation or nation and supranational institutions influences patterns of identification with nested identities. Comparable findings were reported by Huici et al. (1997) regarding differences in identification between British and Scottish citizens of the UK.

On the basis of the literature on sub- and superordinated identity we hypothesized that regional, national, and European identity would be cumulative rather than mutually exclusive. We found a clearly cumulative pattern, but we cannot rule out the alternative explanation that this is a methodological artifact. A few arguments can be forwarded to counter this alternative explanation, though. In the first place, it would be difficult to explain the differences between the two countries with order effects as the only explanatory mechanism. Moreover, in Galicia we asked at a different point in the questionnaire about identification with farmers in Galicia. The strength of this provincial identification ranked nicely between local and national identification (0.96, 0.67 and 0.88 in the respective surveys). Finally, in a study conducted in South Africa we asked questions about national and subgroup identity at different places in the questionnaire and found a similar cumulative pattern. Yet, as long as the proper measure—randomization of the order in which the questions are presented—is not taken, results will necessarily be inconclusive. Less dubious seems the conclusion that identification at different levels of inclusiveness do not exclude one another.

Brewer and Herrmann's socialization model made us hypothesize that more experience and more positive experience with national and European politics develops stronger identification at the national and European level respectively. Indeed, indicators that suggest more experience with national politics, such as political knowledge and talking about politics, are associated with more inclusive



patterns of identification. Interest in politics and especially involvement in farmers' organizations have the same influence. Indicators that relate to different evaluations, such as powerlessness or trust in government had no impact on patterns of identification. However, with regard to the EU, evaluations did matter. Indeed, the evaluation of the agricultural policy of the EU did make a difference in terms of identification patterns, but in opposite directions in the two regions. In Galicia identification with farmers in Europe increased if the evaluation of the EU became more negative, whereas in The Netherlands identification increased when the evaluation became more positive. We lack the information to further investigate the origins of these different patterns. It is, however, important to conclude that experience with national and supranational political institutions does indeed influence patterns of identification with nested identities.

Finally, building on Simon and Klandermans' work on politicized collective identity, we hypothesized that farmers who display more inclusive identification would also show more signs of politicization. The findings do support this assumption but the evidence is not straightforward. Our data suggest that politicization was more related to the national context, than to the European. The observed differences were between local identification, on the one hand, and national and European identification, on the other, rather than between national and European identification. Hence, not only did we observe in both countries less identification with farmers in Europe, but less politicized collective identity at the European level as well. A finding that suggests an explanation for why we observed so little protest of farmers at the European level.

In sum, although the evidence is certainly not conclusive we found enough empirical support for our reasoning to propose it as a framework for further testing. In a nutshell the framework implies that the nature of the functional relations between nested identities determines how inclusive patterns of identification with those categories will be. Within the context of these functional relations, quantitative and qualitative differences in experience with political institutions related to the various level of inclusiveness do the same. Levels of inclusiveness seem to relate to the politicization of identification in such a way that higher levels of inclusiveness foster the politicization of collective identity.

Interestingly, the patterns of identification changed in the course of our study, but in different ways in the two regions. In Galicia identification with farmers declined at all levels of inclusiveness. A possible explanation for the decline, we suggested, was the campaign for the local elections. We assumed that the campaign made other categories than farmer more salient. We do not have the data to test that assumption, but it struck us as a plausible explanation in line with social categorization theory's emphasis on context dependency of identification (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In The Netherlands in that same period the proportion of farmers nourishing multiple identities went up. Simon and Klandermans (2001) have argued that politicization of collective identity implies identification at a more inclusive level. This suggests that farmers' identity in Galicia depoliticized, whereas it politicized in The Netherlands.

We conclude by referring to the limitations of our study. We have mentioned the unsolved matter of order effects in our measurement of identification. Future research should improve control for such order effects. Furthermore, not every measure was what one would have liked it to be. Field studies are under serious time constraints. One cannot interview respondents for hours, certainly not if one wants to interview them several times. Hence, questionnaires are of limited length, and therefore measures are not always as elaborate as one would want them to be. This holds also for our measure of identification. Identification at the three levels of inclusiveness was measured by a single question for each level. Although the observed relations to other variables seem to be consistent and relatively stable follow-up studies could try to improve on our study in this respect as well.

Finally, despite the longitudinal design it remains difficult to arrive at robust conclusions about the causal link between the factors included in the conceptual framework. The comparisons of time and

place we conducted are useful, but field studies do not have the rigour needed for solid tests of causality. It would be worthwhile trying to replicate our findings in a more controlled laboratory setting.

## REFERENCES

- Brewer, M. B., & Silver, M. (2000). Group distinctiveness, social identity and collective mobilization. In S. Stryker, T. J. Owens, & R. W. White (Eds.), *Self, identity, and social movements* (pp. 153–171). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Brown, R. (2000). Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30, 745–778.
- Bush, E., & Simi, P. (2001). European farmers and their protest. In D. Imig, & S. Tarrow (Eds.), *Contentious Europeans: Politics and protest in a europeanizing polity* (pp. 97–121). Lanham Md: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Rust, M. C., Nier, J. A., Baker, B. S., Ward, C. M., Houlette, M., & Loux, S. (2000). The common ingroup identity model for reducing intergroup bias: Progress and challenges. In D. Capozza, & R. Brown (Eds.), *Social identity processes* (pp. 133–148). London: Sage.
- González, R., & Brown, R. (2003). Generalization of positive attitudes as a function of subgroup and superordinate group identifications in intergroup contact. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 195–214.
- Huici, C., Ros, M., Cano, I., Hopkins, N., Emler, N., & Carmona, M. (1997). Comparative identity and evaluation of socio-political change: Perceptions of the European community as a function of the salience of regional identities. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 27, 97–113.
- Huo, Y. J., Smith, H., Tyler, T. R., & Lind, E. A. (1996). Superordinate identification, subgroup identification, and justice concerns: Is separatism the problem; Is assimilation the answer? *Psychological Science*, 7, 40–45.
- Imig, D., & Tarrow, S. (Eds.). (2001). *Contentious Europeans: Politics and protest in a europeanizing polity*. Lanham Md: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Johnston, H. (1991). *Tales of nationalism: Catalonia, 1939–1979*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Klandermans, B., Roefs, M., & Olivier, J. (2001). *The State of the people: Citizens, civil society and governance in South Africa, 1994–2000*. Pretoria: Human Science Research Council.
- Mullen, B., Brown, R., & Smith, C. (1992). Ingroup bias as a function of salience, relevance, and status: An integration. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 22, 103–122.
- Neal, A., & Groat, H. T. (1974). Social class correlates of stability and change in levels of alienation. *Sociological Quarterly*, 15, 548–558.
- Simon, B. (1999). A place in the world: Self and social categorization. In T. R. Tyler, R. M. Kramer, & O. P. John (Eds.), *The Psychology of the social self* (pp. 47–69). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Towards a social psychological analysis of politicized collective identity: Conceptualization, antecedents, and consequences. *American Psychologist*, 56, 319–331.
- Turner, J. C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social identity* (pp. 6–34). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (Eds.). (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.